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S U R V E Y
O F T H E
Roman A N T I Q U I T I E S
In Some of the
Midland C O U N T I E S
O F
E N G L A N D.

——— *Nimium Vobis Romana Propago,
Visa potens Superi propria hæc si Dona fuissent.*
V I R G.

*Antoninus his Itinerary is an endless Fund of
Enquiry; I doubt not but in future Reserches
I shall be induced as much to vary from my
self, as now from others.*

Dr. Stukeley's Iter Curiosum, pag. 169.

L O N D O N.

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M. DCC. XXVI.





T O T H E

Right Honourable

H E N E A G E F I N C H,

Earl of *Winchelsea*, Viscount *Maidstone*,
Baron *Fitzherbert* of *Eastwell*, in the
County of *Kent*.

My LORD,



THE *Essay* I have the Honour
to present Your Lordship
has this happy Introduction,
that its Subject is acceptable:
The Performance, so much inferior, has
nothing to plead but the Candor of a
Mecænas, whose Amusements are Manly.
It is easier for noble Minds to pass by
Defects, than for better-appointed Au-
thors than my self to avoid them.

A 2

That

D E D I C A T I O N.

That I appear after Leland, Camden, and other the Revivers of the Roman Greatness, will not, by your Lordship, be esteemed a Presumption, when I am found chargeable with no more than Imitation and Subservience to their elaborate and invaluable Work: Mr. Camden, like Moses, saw the Land, and tho' he arrived not at the perfect Reward of his Labour, yet shewed Posterity the Way, and taught them to possess it. Single as he stood, with the Support of Leland's Staff, he made his Way through Darknes and Rubbish. The Fruit of his Searches was prodigious, more than could be expected from the Diligence and Sagacity of any but himself. The small Remains of History that escaped the brutish Fury of the Danes, collected, and misplaced, when Learning was at the lowest Ebb, were the Materials our Great Man had.

It is but Justice to his Memory, and far from an Affront, to pursue his Discoveries, tho' with unequal Steps. It is but performing the Will of the Deceased,

to

DEDICATION,

to set his Piece in an advantageous Light. This, with an Extream of Modesty, he has wished; and, 'tis a Proof of his transcending Merit, that he runs not into the vulgar Note of commanding Applause, where He, of all, has the best, if not the only Title to it.

Your Lordship will forgive me, in this Place, transgressing Rules of a Dedication, in order to give an Instance how near Mr. Camden steered to his desired Truth; and how, when he just missed his Point, he has directed us to hit it; and I can't give it on the Side of a respectful Treatment of this great Author, that we choose to write, rather than to travel after him. He took a Hint from the Notitia Imperii, that Warwick was the Præsidium, and the Station of the Dalmatian Horse: And glad would he have been to have fixed here a Metropolis and Place of Arms, so suitable to the Roman Genius: Yet, leaning a little awry, fell into an erroneous Intersection of the two Military Ways at High-Cross, where are neither Remains, nor Distance,

to

D E D I C A T I O N.

to countenance his Scheme; at the same Time leaving the true Bennones Warwick not so much as a Place in the Itinerary, and Nine Miles from the Military Way: This later Writers, looking only at his Steps, have followed till the Error has been established, and, at the Expence of a noble Antiquary, confirmed to future Ages.

I need not make your Lordship an Excuse for the nicest Enquiry into what the Romans left us, since your Lordship is perswaded nothing they did was trifling; and since the Time of their Acquaintance and Settlement here was in the Meridian Glory of their Arts and Arms. Theirs is the Standard and Rule of Excellence. Tully is still the Pattern of perswasive Eloquence, and Purity of Language. Without Roman Graces, History will be flat and tasteless, and degenerate to fulsome Praise of our selves, or our Patrons: The generous Use of it will be lost, which is setting before the present Age the Virtues of the former, worthy Imitation, and exposing the Contempt

D E D I C A T I O N.

in which Self-Love and Ambition expire: This noble Design is at an End, when its Spirit is softned into Flattery and Novel. Horace must stand for a longer Series of Years, still the Judge of Poetry, or we fall into Farce and ridiculous Indecencies. In Shakespear Nature seemed to vie with Art, and to strike out a Genius above the Want of Rules; and yet, when the Use of the Compass was before Him, 'tis Pity he sailed without it.

Cæsar is yet the Master in Arms: What is there but Mining and Counter-mining added to his Model? The Roman Choice of Ground to encamp on; their Ways of Communication for Marching, and Intelligence; their civilizing the Provinces they made; their Humane Treatment of the Vanquished, rather as Allies, than Slaves, Britain has to boast of.

It is not, my Lord, from a Fondness of Innovation, I propose the following Explication of Antoninus: The Building will not stand, and then 'tis no Fault to take it down. My Method, so far as I have

DEDICATION.

have gone, leaves every Figure of the Itinerary as we find it in the most correct Editions: And if I do fail in the Undertaking, that single Consideration will, I am assured, procure a favourable Censure upon,

My LORD,

Your Lordship's most Obliged,

and most Obedient Servant,

*Bishops Stort-
ford.*

N. SALMON.

9



A

S U R V E Y

O F T H E

Roman ANTIQUITIES

In some of the

Midland COUNTIES, &c.

HE Imperial *Itinerary*, under the Name of *Antoninus*, has passed many Years for an erroneous Piece, from the Blunders of those that copied it. Nothing has been more found fault with than its Figures, and indeed nothing with less Reason, so far as it has been in my way to trace them. Since a Painter or Poet are under no Force, they are justly reprimanded for a defective Performance.

He that will be at the Pains to compare our present Computed Miles, with those of the Text,

B may,

may, I believe, through the Island, find a pretty punctual Agreement, and see Reason to admit them as set by the *Romans*. This is liable to an Objection, that even the *Roman* Miles agree not in Measure with one another : And it's true, that from *Londinium* to *Sullioniaca*, or from the same to *Durolitum*, they consist of fewer Paces than when we get a few Stations lower.

I am not able to assign a Reason for this: Nor is any Body else, I believe, willing to tell us how this Difference came about, supposing the Computation to be any other than *Roman*. Their first Footing was in *Kent*, and they extended themselves about the *Thames*: These Stages were therefore first fixed; and if they had a Mind afterwards to make their Soldiers do a better Day's Work, by increasing the Value, rather than Number of Miles, we have room but to guess. A Third Rate Ship may be built as big as a Second was heretofore, and a Convenience found by the Contriver. The small Variation I have observ'd between the Stationary Miles and the present-Computed ones, is, that the latter are shorter. If we would reduce ours to an *Italick* Standard, we shall find them agree no where at all, except about the first Settlements the *Romans* made.

The most considerable of their Roads are, by the Confessor's Law, *de Pace quatuor Cheminorum*, reduc'd to Four, excluding the Vicinal and Correspondent ones: And indeed there must be some other excluded of greater Consequence than the Vicinal, or we cannot account for the Twelfth, Thirteenth, and Fourteenth *Iter*.
The

The Names of the other are lost; nor had the present Four perhaps been remember'd till this Time, but for the Privilege the Law gave them. Except one or two, those we know, have *Saxon* Appellations. None of *Antonine's* Journeys mention the Road, but the Stations only; nor perhaps had they for them all, more than general Names, as *Proconsular*, *Military*, and *Prætorian*.

This of *Watling* seems to have had its Name given by the *Saxons*, from its remarkable Windings, in Contra-distinction to the other Three that are direct. In *Kent*, and some other Countries, Hurdles made of Osier, or Willows woven between Stakes, are called *Wattles*. One that has an uneven Gate, is said to *Waddle*, as a Duck. If Etymology will not carry us through, Experiment will. Let the Number of Stationary Miles between *London* and *West-Chester*, be compared with the Computed or Post-Miles, and the Increase of Fifty-five in the former, will put the Thing beyond Dispute. That reducing them to the *Italick* Standard will not be of any Advantage to the direct Scheme, is plain, from what has been already urged, that the confess'd Stations are according to the computed Kind; and from the Number of Fifty-five being too great a Bulk to account for Over-measure.

Besides, all Authority has carried this Street through *Montgomery-shire*, and fixed *Mediolanum* there, which has at once overturned its Direction.

Before I lay a new Foundation, it will be expected I shew where the present is defective. This I undertake, upon the Second, the Sixth, and the Eighth Journey of *Antonine*. I go towards *Londinium*, in the Second Journey, and return to the *Præsidium*, by the Sixth. The Order where I begin, is thus.

<i>Mancunio</i>	—————	<i>Manchester.</i>
<i>Condate</i>	——— M. P. 18	<i>Congleton.</i>
<i>Deva</i>	————— 20	<i>Chester.</i>
<i>Bovio</i>	————— 10	<i>Banchor,</i>
<i>Mediolano</i>	————— 20	
<i>Rutunio</i>	————— 12	
<i>Urioconio</i>	——— M. P. 11	
<i>Uxacona</i>	————— 11	
<i>Pennocrucio</i>	————— 12	
<i>Etoceto</i>	————— 12	
<i>Manduessedo</i>	————— 16	
<i>Benonis</i>	————— 12	
<i>Bennavenna</i>	————— 17	
<i>Lactodoro</i>	————— 12	
<i>Magiovinio</i>	————— 17	
<i>Durocbrivæ</i>	————— 12	
<i>Verulamio</i>	————— 12	<i>Verulam.</i>
<i>Sulloniæ</i>	————— 09	<i>Brockley-Hills.</i>
<i>Londinio</i>	————— 12	<i>Lond. trans Tames.</i>

To the first Four I have no Objection, but am forced to bring them in, because I shall want *Condate* for a Witness, to prove *Mediolanum* where I have placed it.

Mediolanum

Mediolanum has been made *Mathraval*, and *Llanvethlyn* and *Meivod* in *Montgomeryshire*. At none of these Places are any *Roman* Remains; nor do I find Etymology goes farther to ascertain it than *Fair Fields*, which may serve almost any where else as well. Distance, it's true, agrees with *Banchor*; but then it will not agree with *Condate*, which is a Decision of the Cause.

Rutunium has passed for *Rowton* in *Shropshire*, chiefly for Similitude of Sound. Etymology proves no more than that it's a *Town upon the Strait Road*, which will never determine this to be the Place; nor have I heard of Coins or Camp here. Distance only serves the Purpose from *Meivod* and *Wroxeter*; but if *Mediolanum* itself must be placed elsewhere, *Rowton* can have no Countenance from thence. 'Tis a Civil-Law Rule, *Nemo plus juris ad alium transferre potest quam ipse habet*.

Urioconium goes for *Wroxeter*, as if it had its Name from *Wreken*, the famous Hill near it; but must be set aside as *Urioconium*, if *Meivod* and *Rowton* cannot be brought to support it. There are unquestionably Remains here, and a Military Way leading to and from it. It is a Station, but, I presume, by another Name, which shall be given in its Order.

Uxacona has been esteemed *Okengate*, in *Shropshire*, but lies low, and has no Remains. 'Tis famous for Coal-pits. Some have made it *Newport*, and some *Aqualet* thereabouts. The *British* can make no more of it, than *the Town upon the Lake, or Broad Water*. It stands, 'tis true,

true, upon a Military Way to *Wroxeter*, but the Distance prescribed from it to *Wroxeter*, will not answer, for 'tis scarce five Miles, and the Copiers must have blunder'd egregiously to make it eleven. Besides, it's out of the Design of a Station to lie so near, unless some greater Advantage recommended it, than is to be found there. The Derivation from *Quernæ Portulæ*, makes nothing out.

Pennocrucium is next, which pass'd for *Penkridge* in *Staffordshire*. The Temptation was the kindred Sound. This Vill is denominated from the River *Penk*, to which *Ridge* being added, would make it have a *Roman* Sound, if any *Ridge* or *Agger* were there : But it stands two Miles off the *Street*, as the Military Way leading through great Part of this County to *Wroxeter*, is constantly called. It has been also placed at *Stretton*, hard by *Penkridge*, and the Distance from *Wall* to either of these Places, is not much amiss, if they stood on the *Street*, had Advantage of Ground, Remains of a Camp, or Coins about them. The four Crosses upon the *Street* have been brought also for *Pennocrucium*. These are upon a Flat, and four or five Miles nearer *Wall* than the *Itinerary* will admit. Pains have been taken to reduce this *Pennocrucium* to the *British*, signifying, *Ad Caput Crucii Amnis* : And this Name of *Grucius* is said to be more ancient for the River, than that of *Penk*. But, admitting that, the same Objections of want of Military Way and Distance from the Stage next beyond it in the *Itinerary*, stand good. The first Part
of

of the Word *Pen*, which signifies *Head*, I hope very well to account for where I fix it.

Next in order we come to *Etocetum*, which some will countenance us in reading *Letocetum*. It hath been *Utoxiter*, and now *Wall* and *Chesterfield*, within a Mile of *Litchfield*. For the first it is interpreted, *Faux Amnis*, standing upon the Confluence of the *Dove* and the *Teyne*.

There is no Pretence of Military Way from *Penkrige* to *Utoxiter*, that I know of, nor from *Utoxiter* to *Manceter*; nor have I heard of Coins or Camp there. Besides, as I have taken the Liberty to set *Penkrige* aside, I must do so by *Manceter*, when I come to it.

Wall, beyond doubt, was a Station, and upon the Military Way: Its Coins and other Remains shew it sufficiently such. Yet it cannot be *Eto-cetum* for want, first, of *Pennocrucium* to answer it; next, for want of *Manduessedum*. Admitting the Reading of *Erecetum* from *Ravennas*, or of *Lectocetum* from the same Author, we shall find it an hard Task to bring it into *Licet-field*: And if we could, we should find it in the *Roman* Time but an ignoble Place; and that it was owing to *Wall*, that it was any thing. The first mention that is made of *Litchfield*, is upon account of a Number of Christians martyr'd there, in the *Dioclesian* Persecution. The Name is interpreted by *Rous*, the Antiquary of *Warwick*, a *Field of Carcasses*, as Mr. *Camden* observes. The Country was Wood and Forest thereabouts, and continues so still on one Side. *Cank Wook* is a vast Wild; and a Chace yet remains at *Al-derways*.

derways. St. *Ceada* or *Chad* laid the Foundation of the Greatness of this See. It was once a Place so inconsiderable, that the Bishop in 1075. removed his See to *Chester*, and his Successor brought it back to *Coventry*.

Etymology will here be of no use on either side the Question, the Name being entirely Arbitrary, and such as has been given to abundance of Places where Fortifications have been. *Chesterfield*, on the other Side the Way, may have been a Part of it.

Manduessedo is supposed to be *Manceter* in *Warwickshire*, near *Atherston*, on the *Street-Road*, as it is called, between *High-cross* and *Litchfield*. The Original of the *British* Name is thought to be a Word in that Language expressing *Stone*, because there is a Quarry here; and so perhaps it may: but I humbly conceive it has no Title to *Manduessedum*. It is also from the *Welsh* made *Patriæ Sedes*; but that will determine nothing. Here is no Trace of Fortification, nor any Ground fit for it. Coins, it's true, have been frequently found here, which I have no Objection to, because *Oldbury*, a Mile from hence, I hope to prove a Station, but by another Name, and another Way of coming at it. It's called by some a Quadrangular Fort, from whence the chief Countenance *Manceter* had as a Station, came; but a full Mile from the *Street*, which cannot be admitted, if we were to make the Direction towards *High cross*.

The next is *Venonis*, or rather *Bennonis High-cross*, or *Cleychester*. This lies direct from *Man-*
ceter

ceter towards *London*, upon what is called the *Street-Road*. Most certainly *High cross* stands upon the *Fosse*; but that the *Fosse* here hath an Intersection with the *Watling-street*, I cannot be persuaded from any Proofs hitherto given. *Ben-nonis*, where-ever it stands, has been a Place of Consequence. The Character it has borne would indeed make one look somewhere else for it than here, where little of Remains is to be found, but by the Help of Imagination. Mr. *Baxter* makes it to have been the Residence of the famous *Prasutagus*, the Head of the *Britannia Secunda*, and indeed of the Island——— *Et quod ad hunc usque diem perduret fama, Urbem hanc fuisse olim Senatu nobilem, atque imperio potentem, quod & Camdenus memorat.* This is much too Grand for any thing to be traced here. This Description might suit *Verulam* or *Lincoln*. But one would not look for it at *Islington*. The Coins found hereabout are accounted for by the *Fosse*, tho' we suppose not the *Watling* here. Those lately found at *Lutterworth* may be from the Neighbourhood of the *Fosse*, as well as those of *Moncks-Kirkby*.

High-cross stands within the County of *Leicester*, upon that *Street*, which divides it from *Warwickshire*. A *Tumulus* or two, not at all wonderful upon the *Fosse*, give the chief Credit to the Reputation of this Place. And *Cloudesley Bush* comes in for a Share of the Honour, as if named from some Commander *Claudius*. And so perhaps it may, but that is not Proof enough of a Station.

Here is a Cross upon four *Doric Pillars*, answering the four Roads, with the following Lines :

*Vicinarum provinciarum Vervicensis
Scilicet & Leicestrensis ornamenta
Proceres Patricique auspiciis
Illustrissimi Basilii Comitis de
Denbigh hanc Columnam statuendam
Curaverunt in gratam pariter
Et perpetuam memoriam Jani tandem
A serenissimâ Anna clausi.*

A. D. 1712.

On the other Side ;

*Si veterum Romanorum vestigia
Queras hic cernas, Viator. Hic enim
Celeberrimæ illorum Viæ militares
Sese mutuo secantes, ad extremos usque
Britanniæ limites procurrunt, hic
Stativa sua habuerunt Vennones, & ad
Primum abhinc Lapidem Castra sua
Ad Stratam & ad Fossam Tumulum
Claudius quadem Cohortis præfectus
Habuisse videtur.*

Two Objections to this are concealed constantly. The first, that this Place is but eight Miles from *Manceter*, whereas it should be twelve, supposing *Manceter* the *Manduessedum* : The second, that it's no farther distant from *Leicester*, which confessedly is *Roman*, from whence it should

should be twelve. Must the Copiers of the *Itinerary* be answerable for this? And have they erred on this Hand and that, both at once? What will the numbering of Miles do us good, if this Liberty and Property take Place? These Numbers are the Support and Guard of Truth. And if we will set them aside, we have one thing to consider, that the Sum Total at Top agrees pretty well with the Particulars. The Blunders of a Scribe might be that way discover'd; for 'tis not to be supposed they cast up the Accompt always when they copied it. And if they did, they had that Way of correcting themselves. Mr. *Camden* is not so positive in this Point as his Followers, who have nothing but his Authority to be sanguine upon. He confesses, the neighbouring Inhabitants informed him the Roads cross'd one another here. And which of the Inhabitants knew so well as himself? But his excessive Modesty is without a Parallel. In this Place, said they, stood a flourishing City; but he, ——— *Ipse periere Ruinae*. As for the Foundations of square Stones, and *Roman* Coins, the Neighbourhood of the *Fosse*, as I observed, makes it no Wonder.

Mr. *Camden* did not find the Scent good enough to triumph upon. This made him, as it should other great Authors, tender how they Challenge without sufficient Grounds. The Use of it, he knew, was to call the Inquisitive, and the Diligent to try what Advances they could make upon a slight Encouragement. His Heart

was elsewhere for a *Caput Insulae*, but not having fixed it better, he took up, as a Wanderer, here.

Next in order is *Bennavenna*, called *Weedon* in *Northamptonshire*, first by *Camden*, then by every Body since. This the Distance from *High-cross* and *Stony-Stratford* drew him into. A Military Way passing here, too, confirmed him. And Etymology from the Head of the *Nen*, once called *Aufona*, as *Pennaufona* corrupted to *Bennavenna*, weighed farther with him still. Tho' *Pen* in *British* be the *Head*, it no where, I believe, can signify a *Fountain*, and in that Sense the *Head of a River*. Their chief Mountains have the Addition of *Pen* to know them by, as *Penmenmaur* in *North Wales*, *Pendle* in *Lancashire*, which allude to the Head of a Man overtopping the rest of the Hill. For it was frequent with them to distinguish their Mountains by the Similitude they bore to the several Parts of a Human Body, as *Bald-pate*, *Mouth*, *Arm*, *Leg*, *Foot*, &c. But I have not found *Pen* for the Source of a Stream.

I don't find any *Roman* Remains here, any Camp, or indeed Ground fit to look for one upon. For Coins, it's no Wonder, because there was, I presume, a Station two Miles off. That of *Castle Dikes* I cannot think *Roman*; and it is a Mile off the *Street*: But if it were upon the *Street*, it were of no Use to them that had another confessedly so, within two Miles. There seems to be nothing at *Weedon*, except Coins, but what is owing to the *Saxons*, whose King, *Wolpher* of *Mercia*, had here a Place of Residence.

dence. The present *Vestigia* of Fortification, if they are such, may be *Saxon* Work. They may have enclosed the old Town, and during the Heptarchy, we can't think any Place, especially one no better fortify'd by Nature than this, safe to sleep in without Works as considerable as these ever were. Neither will Distance hold here. *Weedon*, if all Things else answered, could not be admitted Twelve Miles from *Stratford* either *Old* or *New*; and therefore it will be found no Injury to set it aside for another that shews Situation, Distance, and Remains.

Laetorodum, or *Laetodorum*, is next in the *Itinerary* after *Bennavenna*. This was a long Time esteemed *Stony-Stratford*, in *Buckinghamshire*, and lately *Old-Stratford*, on the *Northamptonshire* Side the River. Etymology helps us to *Trajectus*, and where-ever we find *Laetorodum*, it must be upon the Ford of the *Ouse*. Coins have been found hereabouts, which I can allow from its Neighbourhood to the *Trajectus*, tho' it was not just here. Whatever has been said of *Stratford*, either *Old* or *New*, it is wonderful all the World should have so contentedly taken up with it as a Station, when there is not an Inch of Ground fit to encamp on. Here is none but low moist Ground, nor are there any Hints or Traces of a fortified Place, nor indeed any Thing to be said for it, but Distance and Coins. And here I take leave to correct my self, having gone with the common Cry, persuaded by Coins and Distance it was the Place, having never examin'd the Unfitness of the Ground. Mr. *Baxter* would fix
this

this Station at *Newport Pagnell*; *Nova Porta* seeming always, to Him, to have something *Roman* in it. Thus he places *Uxacona* near *Newport* in *Shropshire*, from what is latent in the Name: And that Name doth express a Military Way, commonly called a Port-Way. This will by no means disagree with my Scheme, to bring the Street by *Newport*: There would I have it go, tho' not owning *Newport* the Station. And Mr. *Camden* had found some Author that took *Bedford* for *Laetorodum*. It is enough, that no body has yet produced a Camp, or proper Spot for a Camp, at either *Stratford*, and that such is to be found in a neighbouring Vill.

Magiovinium, or *Magintum*, has been taken for *Dunstable*. The Distance agrees well from *Stratford*, but neither here are any Remains. *Maiden Bower* or *Madning Bower*, the only Place to be trusted to, a Mile from the Town, has not the Air of *Roman*, but *British* only. The Country was cleared of Woods, and the Ground levelled hereabouts to make a Road for Travellers, as lately as Abbot *Leofstan*; no Sign the *Romans* had made their *Prætorian* Way here. Nor could they come at Water for their Use, except the muddy Water of the Street-Ponds, without Wells, of such Depth as we have not known them use: But this is more at large in the first Part of *Roman* Stations in *Britain*.

Durocobriæ has the next Place, which answers not to Distance, for it's but Ten, and should be Twelve, from *Verulam*. Hence must be a *Diverticulum* of Twelve Miles to the Right
or

or Left. *Hertford* and *Berkamsted*, have been in their Turns chosen. *Ashwell* was once thought of by Mr. *Camden*, and *Redborn*, but the Numbers will not suit either of these last. Mr. *Baxter* is for *Woburn*, which has no better Pretence than the other two. *Hertford* has nothing about it of a Face higher than the *Saxon Times*. It stands too upon the *Ermine-Street*, between two Stations, which would have made it, if a Station, useless. *Berkamsted's* Remains are *Saxon* or *Norman*, nothing but a Castle built by them, and afterwards a little enlarged: Not big enough, nor well enough situated, for a *Roman Camp*: And which lies below a Hill, which Hill would have been the Spot the *Romans* would have made choice of, if ever they had settled there. This lies too within Four Miles of *Tring*, upon the *Ikening-Street*, where there is proper Ground for a Camp, if they had an Inclination to settle themselves hereabouts: Of this enough has been said in the former Part of *Roman Stations*.

Verulam is acknowledg'd, and from thence *Subloniaca*, a Derivative, as I presume, of *Salena* upon *Brockly Hills*, and a Part of *Skenley*, whence I would carry the *Watling-Street* in the Course that hath always been assign'd to it.

I keep Company with others that go the *Watling-Street* from *Manchester* to *Congleton*, thence to *West-Chester*, and so to *Banchor* the *Roman Bonium*. This City stood, as it is deliver'd to us, on both Sides the *Dee*; a Gate both on the *English* and *Welsh* Side yet remaining.

ing. The next Station, according to *Antoninus*, is *Mediolanum*, Twenty Miles from *Bonium*. Instead of *Meivod* in *Montgomery shire*, I go to *Knightly* in *Staffordshire*, Six Miles off *Stafford*, the County Town, and Three from *Eccleshall*, the Bishop of *Litchfield's* Seat; the Distance agreeing with *Banchor*. Much will not be expected from Etymology here, when it is remember'd, that *Milan* in *Lombardy*, and other Places of the same Name, have not yet their Original discovered. The Appellation is Arbitrary; if Relation to any Thing be expressed in it, that must be to Situation: If it be placed at equal Distance from two Seas, or two Garrisons, or rather between three or four, one may think to have got its Meaning. There may have been so many Occasions of the Name, that unless its standing upon the falling in of two Military Roads, as I think it does, with Stations almost round it, will pass, I despair of finding its Source.

The Modern Name given it by the *Saxons* seems to carry with it the Possession of a Knight: It was first written *Cnuchtelei*, then *Knybtelei*, then *Knightly*. It's true, the Original Meaning of *Knight* was with them no more than a Servant, a young Man, a Disciple: Those of our Saviour, in their Translation, are called *Leorning Cnybts*. Yet the Appellation grew honourable at length, and King *Alfred* knighted his Grandson *Athelstan*, which is the first we hear of Dubbing. Amongst the *Normans* the Word expressed *Service*, but then it was of the best sort; such as attending upon the King's Person, and following

following him in his Wars. Then *Military Service*, and *Military Tenure*, were highly esteemed, and the Term used by way of Contra-distinction from *Vile* and *Mercenary*. We find, in many Places, *Roman* Towns keeping still a Precedency above others. They were afterwards the Residence of *Saxon* Kings, or Great Men, and give Name to Hundreds, Deanries, and were the Heads of Civil Diocese, as well as Ecclesiastical. The most Honourable and Paramount Manors are, a great many of them, Ancient Demesne, such as we can trace in the Crown, as far as our Histories reach: And *Knightly* is, in Old *English*, expressive of something above *Vulgar*.

The Foundation upon which I go to fix *Mediolanum*, at *Knightly*, is, first, Distance, then Remains. The Distance is from *Condate* Eighteen Miles, as we find in the Tenth Journey.

Mancunio M. P.

Condate ————— 18.

Mediolano ————— 18.

Much canvassing there has been to set this *Condate* aside, because *Mediolanum* would not agree with it. For, place *Mediolanum* in *Montgomery-shire*, and Distance will not do with the other. Therefore has *Condate* been sent about like a Vagrant with many a Pass: To *Loughborough* in *Leicestershire*; to *Consby* in *Northumberland*, as derived from *Condatesby*; to *Percebridge* upon the *Tees* in the *Bishoprick*. At this last

D

Place,

Place, an Inscription of an Altar beginning with *Condati*, lately dug up, is thought conclusive. I believe so much Stress had not been laid upon this new Evidence, but that there was no Place allow'd for *Condate* hereabouts, which must be, or we break in upon the Second and Tenth *Iter*, which are our Standard, and not to be forsaken for every new Fancy.

Why may not *Mahomet* go to the Mountain? Why is not *Mediolanum* as moveable as *Condate*? If we try that Way, and set it here at *Knightly*, it will answer to *Bonium* and *Condate* both, which is impossible in any other Situation. It will be found also to answer to *Ratunium*, where I place that Station. As to Military Roads, we find two coming up to *Knightly*: The one from *Condate*, as in the Tenth Journey from *Manchester* to *Knightly*, through *Condate*. It leads through *Staffordshire*, not far from *Newcastle*, and points upon *Eccleshall*. The Direction is broke, by carrying the present Road through that Town: But as soon as we are got through it, up the Hill, we find the Traces of the old one, into which the new winds. We have two Miles farther another Deflection to the Right, which is the common Way to *Newport*; but ours keeps straight by a Water of about Three Acres, called *Rum Pool*, to *Knightly-Hill*; and this is the Military Way Dr. Plot had observed about *Wootton*, which he called a Vicinal one, but did not trace farther, because he had no Station here to bring it to: Yet is He very confident the Work was *Roman*,
which

which is easily enough distinguishable from all Roads but those made by Turnpikes.

The Hill contains in all about Fifty Acres, the greatest Part, as usual, in Camps facing the South-East Sun : On three Sides is Moory-Ground; and in one Place, which is a Lane, the Ground is raised above the Moors for two or three Hundred Yards, which may have been the *Vallum*. On the Land Side of this Hill, from the Foot of it North-East, and towards *Knightly-Hall*, seem to have been many Buildings. The Hill its self has been built upon, perhaps all over, and seems to have been one of their *Hiberna*, and a City, from the Track of Ground upon which they daily plough up Foundations. There are now to be seen around this Hill, upon the Edge of the Moors, large and small Stones rolled down when the Plough struck upon them : Some are bigger than a Man can stir, and it would surprize one to see them here, if this Account were not to be allowed of it : There is no Quarry within a Mile of the Place ; all are ploughed up single, and not continued from a Rock. In the Flat, a Quarter of a Mile off, they break now, in some Grounds, two or three Ploughs in a Day : Coins I have not heard of here. The Name of the Place is *Hob-Hill*, a Word used in that Country to fright their Children. There is nothing more common than Stories of Spectres and ludicrous Demons, where old Towns or Monasteries have stood.

This appearing of Foundation Stones under the Plough, Twelve Hundred Years after the Ro-

mans left the Island, shews that the Rains upon the Hills wear away the Ground a little ; as is also to be observ'd from the Waters carrying off a Part of the Soil from the Arable, by which it is discoloured, This, if there wanted any, is an Argument against the Eternity of the World ; for by this Time we should have had no Mountains at all by the levelling Property of the Rain.

From hence leads a broad Military Way thro' *Newport* in *Shropshire*, to *Wroxeter* on the *Severn* Side, under the *Wreking*. *Nova Porta*, and *Portway*, carry generally something Roman in them. So confident is Mr. *Baxter* of this, that He is for placing the Station *Uxacona* near *Newport*, at *Aqualet*, or thereabouts, trusting to the Name, without looking for Remains, or a proper Situation. This New, saith He, supposes something Older ; and yet New sometimes is found to the present Age amongst the Eldest, as *New-College Oxford*. The Port is the Thing that determin'd him, as it has done again at *Newport-Pagnel* in *Bucks*, whither He is inclin'd to bring *Lactorodum*. How that is consistent with *Magiovinium* for *Dunstable*, and with Distance from *Bennavenna*, I cannot see.

If we were to look for Ground to encamp on about *Aqualet*, or *Forton-Mere*, it must be upon the Place where the Firs once grew in great Plenty : But that will not answer to any of the three Standards, Etymology, Distance, or Remains.

The Use I would make of *Nova Porta*, both here and at *Newport-Pagnel*, is, that they are
Towns

Towns upon the Port or Military Way, leading in a broad and direct Course to a Station; as they do. That Station is *Wroxeter*, which I take leave to call *Rutunium*. I am aware, that hitherto it has been taken for the *Urioconium*. But that Scheme proceeds altogether upon *Rutunium's* being *Rowton* upon the Edge of the County. The *Etymon* of *Rowton* brings us but to *Iter Rectum*. And if the great *Stillingfleet's* Conjecture of making it *Drayton*, would hold, we should here be at a Loss for a Military Way. None could come at it from *Meivod*, because *Meivod* is itself nothing. And the other which *Camden* mentions from *Ranulphus Cestrensis*, leading hence to the farthest Part of *Wales*, could not be *Watling-street*, as that Monk called it. The Thing to be proved is *Meivod*, as a Station and a Military Way from thence. The first Mr. *Camden* himself gave up, tho' those upon his Shoulders have allow'd it with no more Evidence than he had ; that is, none at all.

The most that those, who hold *Wroxeter Urioconium*, have for it, is Similitude of Sound: That it has something like *Wreeken* in it, the famous overtopping Hill of the Neighbourhood. Thus they write it *Veroconion*, 'Οὐερονιον. It's true, the Saxons called *Wroxeter*, *Wreeken Cester*, the *Castra* near the *Wreeken*, whence *Wroxeter* is corrupted : But this has no Pretence to be derived from the *Latin* Name ; and expresseth only the Station or City of the *Romans* which was near that remarkable Mountain. If we admit the present corrupted Name from *Weroc-ceaster*,
and

and that *Weroc* from *Veroconium*, the Derivation is more forced and unnatural than from the *Saxon Wrekencester*. Besides, it's a Point, I believe, need not be surrendred at Discretion, that the old way of writing it *Urioconium*, is right; and the new, adopted but to serve a Turn.

The Place is indisputably *Roman*. I will venture to make it after Mr. *Baxter*, *Oppidum ad Rectum Iter*; and *Wroxeter* from the *Saxon Wreeken-ceaster*. It is particularly upon the straight Road; for the Road hither holds straighter for three Stages, than we find it to do any where upon the *Watling street*. There was, it's probable, a Vicinal Continuation from hence into *South Wales*; because here was the *Roman* Pass of the *Severn*, which no where else was fordable. This shews the Sagacity, and the Application of that great People, to find out and fortify those Places Nature had best fitted for Strength and Intercourse. We find at this Day *Shrewsbury* one of the most thriving Towns in that Part of *Britain*, which is very near the *Roman* Choice, and must have been exactly upon their Spot, if the Use of Bridges had not come in the Room of Fording. Bridges they had not, and we may find several good Reasons why; they were indeed liable to decay; and they were liable to be broken down by the Enemy, and so a March obstructed; and their Use would but have render'd their Army Tender and Effeminate, hitherto trained to Heat, and Cold, and Hardship. Their Arms wanted not to be kept dry; and we find them even swimming over a broad Stream,
sometimes

sometimes with their Sheaf of Darts at their Backs, and engaging before they came to Land. Thus they attacked *Anglesea*, and their *German Auxiliaries* were the most expert at this Service.

It is, I suppose, a Compliment to their Understanding, that we charge them with Bridges here, and at *Tripontium*; as if it were an Invention they were really capable of. The Stone-Work yet in being at the Bottom of the *Severn* here, is said to be the Foundation of their Bridge, which is no more than the Paving of their Ford. By this Method they kept the Bottom good, and raised the Ground for Fording. And why should they chuse just this Passage for their Bridge, which is the only one upon the Stream where they could do without it?

The Blackness of the Soil here is attributed to the City's having been burned by *Danes* and *Saxons*. And so perhaps it was, though the Blackness we find at many other Places, occasioned by the great Quantity of Timber, and other Materials decayed and rotten, and by the Dung and Rubbish that all populous Towns afford. By the Stone Wall, of which some Remains are seen, Nine or Ten Foot thick, and the deep *Fosse*, it is judged to have been three Miles in Compass. Doubtless it was of great Strength and Importance, being the only Pass upon that remarkable River. It was as well a Defence against the Incursions of the *Britons*, whilst they had a Force left, as a Place of Arms from whence *Wales* was attacked and reduced.

From

From hence we have Reason to believe *Ostorius* marched against *Caradoc*. The Low-lands of *Britain* were first taken in, and the *Britons* retreated to their Mountains. He must have come at them either by Way of *Magnis* and *Bravinium*, or from hence. They were driven up then into as narrow a Compass as *Wales*. *Vespasian* had been thirty Times engaged in Battle with them, and taken twenty of their *Oppida* himself, or under *Aulus Plautius*. This last Stand of *Caractacus*, as the *Romans* called him, gave the greatest Reputation to the *British* Arms. This seems to be very much owing to the Situation of his Camps, where he must have had great Advantage against those that attack'd him. And he lost but little Ground at a Time. For supposing *Ostorius* to have taken the Camp of *Brandon*, near *Teem*, and to have beaten him from his Post at *Coxhall*, near *Bramton-Bryan*, he made another Effort at the famous *Caer Caradoc*, which still goes by his Name. This Place was fortified as well by Art as Nature, the Rock itself being cut away for a *Fosse*, and left for a Rampart. And from the Situation of the *Roman* Camp, we may guess they marched from *Wroxeter* to it, and not from *Worcester*. The storming this Camp seems to have been the toughest Work the *Romans* met with here : And therefore their Historians do *Caradoc* the Honour to make him appear great in his Misfortunes. They make him even a Speech-maker, and to act the Hero, as if improved by the most Polite Education. It was something to see a rough *Briton* with his
Sword

Sword girt about his naked Body, stand Battle with a well-appointed *Roman*; but more still to hear him plead in Strains of Oratory, and put on his Chains with the Submission of a Philosopher.

Our next Stage is *Urioconium*, as it should be, from *Rutunium* eleven Miles. This I would fix at *Ivyset Bank* upon the *Watling street*. The Road from this Place through *Okenyate* to it, is direct, and the new one to *Shrewsbury* winds to the Right. From Etymology I get nothing. And yet if as much Pains were to be taken here as at *Wroxeter*, something might be made out, at least as much as there is for that. One Thing I am to claim the Benefit of here, that will not answer from *Rutunium*; that is, the Distance of 17 Miles from *Bravinium*. This the twelfth *Iter* testifies. And because it was not found consonant with *Rutunium*, *Bravinium* itself was to be by some Authors set aside, and not allowed to be *Worcester*. This is a Partial Way of proceeding. Why not remove *Urioconium* as well as *Bravinium*? Or rather, why not, in respect to the Text, try till we can make both agree? This was the Case of *Condate*.

The Miles answer here to a Nicety with *Rutunium*, and *Uxacona*, and *Bravinium*: The Military Way we are sure of, and the Situation to the South-East Sun, such as the *Romans* chose, with running Water near it. And yet if I am any where to be charged with fixing a Station upon insufficient Evidence, it must be here. I have seen many a Camp, of which only one Side or Angle was left; and if that had been gone, I

might have said I found nothing, yet believ'd it the Place. *Stretton, Penkridge*, and the rest that have been pitched upon hereabouts, have either lain out of Distance, or off the *Street*.

The Place I fix upon is called *Ivyset Bank*, from the Quantity of *Ivy* growing formerly there. It is a Spot of about fifty Acres, upon a Rising ground, between the Military Way, and a Moory Ground. It is in the Parish of *Blembill*, the Earl of *Bradford's* Estate and Manor. The North-half of the *Street*, and the *Sun-Inn*, is in *Lampleigh* Parish. There are great Pits in a Wood, a Part, I suppose, of the Camp, out of which Earth was dug some Years ago to mend the Road. The Workmen found many arched Places, and subterraneous Caverns. And the Neighbourhood are full of a Notion, that this has been the Residence of Thieves, who concealed themselves under Ground. And farther they tell us of a Passage under the Earth from these Caverns, to a Warren half a Mile off, called *Bishops Wood*; a common Fable of Camps and Monasteries. These arched Caverns, if any Body had been curious enough to examine before they were broke up, might probably have been found *Roman* Grots or Baths. And if we may take the Liberty to say, what became of the Fortification of this Camp, of which no Trace at present remains, it may be thus: The North Part may have been levelled, to mend the Road, which has wanted Reparation since the *Roman* Times. And that on the South may have sunk, as we see in other Places, by the continual sapping
of

of the Water. The East comes to a Point between the Moor and the Road. The West is a hollow Lane, which might once be the *Fosse*, partly filled up with the *Vallum*. The Landlord of the *Crown-Inn* found a *Roman* Piece in his Garden last Year, which he gave away. And when *Blembill* Church was rebuilt, a great many strange Pieces were dug up with the Foundation; But the People here are so much Strangers to Curiosity, that they neither know what these were, nor in whose Hands they are now.

I don't propose these Things as sufficient Proof; yet as every Body has hitherto allowed a Station between *Wroxeter* and *Litchfield*, this is preferable to the other Schemes, as best suiting with *Antonine's* Distance, and the Military Way. And if we do not take up with this, we must content our selves with thinking 'tis irrecoverable.

The Prospect from hence Westward, is to the *Wreeking*, and the *Shrewsbury* Road. To the North-East *Cank Wood*, which extends itself many Miles in Hills and Rising-ground, quite to the *Trent* Side; and at its Brink next to that River hath, by a Sort of *Lusus Naturæ*, Ribs or Promontories in great abundance, with Channels and Declivities variously intermixed. The South Prospect is over *Bishops Wood* to *Boscobel*, where stood the *Quercus amica Jovi*. Nothing now remains of that memorable Tree, but a round Hole in which it grew, and a small *Oak* just by, that sprang from one of its *Acorns*; except its Monument legible upon a Stone over the Door of the Wall which encompassed it:

*Felicissimam Arborem, quem in Asylum
 Potentissimi Regis Caroli II. Deus O. M.
 Per quem Reges regnant, hic crescere
 voluit, tam in perpetuam rei tantæ memo-
 riam, quam Specimen firmæ in Reges
 Fidei muro cinctam Posteris commendant*
 Basilii & Jana Fitzherbert.

Quercus amica Jovi.

The other little Sanctuary under the Floor in *Boscobel-House*, to which the King went down, is yet to be seen. There is a Piece of a Board, about half a Yard long, which was moveable, but so well fitted to the Place, that it gave no Room for Suspicion. The present Tenant of the Place is a Grandson of *Trusty Dick*.

The Want of Fortification is not to be justified; but I am convinc'd the Want of Coins is nothing: They are found frequently in *Roman* Towns and Cities, and in some other Places, where we have no Proof the *Romans* settled. But in their Camps, their *Æstiva*, and those of their *Exploratores*, I have rarely seen them: And tho' it was a Practice of theirs to bury some Coins with or near their Ashes, it will be very hard to account for the vast Plenty of them, if we suppose them hid by *Roman* Hands. They could have but one or both these Views in doing it; To convince Posterity they had been Masters here, if they never should return; and, To find their Money again for their Use, if they did return: The First of these would have been answer'd by fewer
 Pieces,

Pieces, and by dispersing them in Fields near their Camps, as well as near their Cities. The Latter suits little with a Soldier. Providing for the Morrow, and for a Morrow that may never come, is out of their Way. How could they hide from one another? How much Money would be left in a Field where a Modern Army broke up? I never heard of a Decree, or Edict, to disperse Sums at the Expence of the Publick: And so odd and unlikely are the Places where Coins are frequently dug or ploughed up, that one must imagine the Man that buried them, was by himself, had Time enough, and a good Mark to find them by.

To me it's much more easy to believe these, tho' *Roman* Coins, were *British* Treasure: That upon withdrawing the Legions, and with them, the best of the *British* Youth, to serve as Auxiliaries, the poor destitute harassed People concealed their Money. The Incursions of the *Picts* and *Saxons* made them never safe: Their Houses were ransack'd or burn'd to the Ground; and they had no Security but the Earth, to lay up any thing in. We find, at this Day, more Coins lying loose, than in Urns; and some of those we find in them, might be put there by way of Disguise, to avoid Suspicion, or because those Utensils were cheap and common. A Man might go into his own Pasture or Arable in the Night, and by a Tree, or other Mark, be directed to find what he laid there. If he was killed, the Treasure was never look'd after. What was a *Roman* Town, was afterwards a *British* one, and many of them continued

continued Towns through *Saxon*, *Danish*, and *Norman* Revolutions. It's odd to suppose the Gold ones, of great Value, and easily portable, should have been squander'd, as one may call it, by the *Romans*, who took leave, never thinking to return. But it's no Wonder the distressed Inhabitants, left behind, should apply to Mother Earth to protect their Treasure, safe in no other Hands: Nor can we suppose any Money current amongst the *Britons* but the *Roman*: These lived chiefly in Towns for Security, and therefore most of what they deposited, was thereabouts. Many Instances we have of Urns, and small Quantities of these Pieces, at Places distant from the *Roman* Settlements; the latest is that of *Lutterworth* in *Leicestershire*, discover'd within these three Months.

Next I go to *Uxacona*, at Eleven Miles distance, which I take to be *Wall* near *Litchfield*. Here Distance, Military Way, and Remains, do all punctually agree to make it a *Roman* Settlement. This is a Point no body will dispute with me from *Camden* down to this Day. It is generally thought that *Litchfield* rose out of the Ruins of this *Wall*: Upon St. *Ceadda's* fixing there, with a few others, whose Piety gave Reputation to the Place, it became famous. There had been four Bishops before *Ceadda*: He was translated to *York*, but left the See in a flourishing Condition. There were Thirty-four Bishops of it before the Removal to *Coventry*, and for one Turn an Archbishop. *Eadulph* had a Pall from Pope *Adrian* for it, at the Instance of

of *Offa*, who is said to have procured it in Prejudice of *Lambert* Archbishop of *Canterbury*; but more probably for the Grandeur of his own Kingdom, that his Subjects, even in Spirituals, should not have a Dependance upon what, during the Heptarchy, might be esteem'd a Foreign Government. This, however, sunk afterwards.

There has been an Inclination in some that took this for *Etocetum*, to make it the same with the *Leſtocetum* of *Ravennas*: And thence, supposing *Litchfield* to have been continued to *Wall*, tho' at present a Mile off, they were inclin'd to bring it to *Licet field*. If that were so, *Litchfield* has, according to *Ravennas*, little Pretence to *Leſtocetum*; for it comes in Order next-but-one after *Ratecorion*, and immediately before *Jacio* or *Statio Dulma*: And by it, therefore, seems to be meant *Laſtodorum*. The very different way of Writing, to be found in the Copies of *Ravennas*, from *Antonine's Itinerary*; and in Truth, from those of the *Vatican*, and the King of *France's* Library; make every Thing that is built upon it, precarious: Yet, when the *Itinerary* agrees with it in the Order of Places, we have great Reason to believe both right: and, where they differ, the Advantage the *Itinerary* hath by numbring the Miles, makes it safer to follow than *Ravennas*. This very *Leſtoceto* is in the *Vatican* Copy made two Words *Leſto Ceto*; the latter with a Capital Letter. The first of these wants but one Vowel changed to be the first two Syllables of *Laſtorodum*. Mr. Baxter brings

brings it to *Lectoretum*, as miswritten by *Ravennas*, and so to *Lactorodum*, which perhaps is the chief Reason of his Emendation from *Lactodorum*. He saith the Miles of the *Itinerary* countenance his placing it at *Lathbury*, on the *Ouse*, just by *Newport Pagnel*; and there being a *Trajectus* from thence, he gives the Name to *Newport*.

Etyymology, I think, may a little help us in making *Wall, Uxacona*: As a Confirmation, I would apply to it, when a Foundation of Distance and Remains appears. Tho' useful in its Place, it should not usurp theirs, being of the younger House: I desire no better than the Learned Author last mention'd affords me. It is far from his Design to have *Wall, Uxacona*, and therefore—*ab Hoste doceri* is best of all. I quote not the Page, because he goes on Alphabetically. It means, according to him, *supra caput Aquæ, sive juxta Aquam*: Let this be compar'd with *Camden*. "The City (*Litchfield*) stands low, "is pretty large and neat, divided into two Parts, "by a kind of *Lough*, or clear Water, which "is but shallow: However, they have Commu- "nication with one another, by two Cause- "ways made over it, which have each of them "their respective Sluices—— This Lake, "at *Litchfield*, is at first pent up into a narrow "Compass within its Banks, and then it grows "wider afterwards; but uniting it self into a "Channel, presently falls into the *Trent*, which "continues its Course Eastward till it meets the "River *Tame* from the South."

Pennocrus.

Pennocrucium is my next Stage, *Oldbury* in *Warwickshire*, from *Wall*, as in the *Itinerary*, twelve Miles. The Name is not in *Domesday*, comprehended, as some think, together with *Manceter*, in *Atherston*; tho' there is better Reason to believe *Atherston* comprehended in *Manceter*. Mr. *Camden*, and Sir *William Dugdale*, both mention this Place for a Station upon the *Watling-Street*. The first calls it *Manduessedum*, the latter, only a *Roman Station*. The present Name of *Manceter* seems to be a Compound from the *British* *Maen*, and the *Saxon* *Ceaſter*, and so the *Rocky Camp*. Sir *William* would have it from *Man parvus*, and so the *Small-Camp*: But the Hills about *Oldbury* being stony, the former is most eligible. He makes it an Entrenchment through which the *Watling-Street* passes, by which he should think there was one where the Church and Vill of *Manceter* now stands. Others would call the Station *Manceter*, yet refer themselves to *Oldbury* for Remains; and, indeed *Oldbury* is a Mile off the Street, if the Street goes direct from *Atherston* to *Highcross*. *Oldbury* has a *Roman* Appearance at first Sight; the present fortified Part is not above Six or Seven Acres, included by a high *Vallum* and very deep *Fosse*. This is upon a well-chosen Hill, accessible only on the Western Side. It stands amongst a Number of Hills, some stony, and some woody, all which it over-tops: And in that Sense *Pen* in *British* is well understood, as *Penmenmaur*, *Pengethley*, *Pendle*, where it always signifies the Head. What the Derivation of *Ocruc*

tium is, I am not *Apollo* enough to say. There hath been a larger Entrenchment continued from this through a Wood, and cross a small Valley, towards *Hartbill*, which looks like *British* Work, upon which the *Romans* had improved. If we would bring a Military Way from the Street of *Manceter*, hitherto we find no Room for it. The Ground has never been levelled for that Purpose; and if it had been carried up by the Side of *Hart-Hill*, and under the Wood, which is the plainest Way of getting at it from that Side, there must have been some Traces of it left. If the *Roman* Forces had marched up hither from *Manceter*, and down again, to pursue the Street to *High-cross*, we must have seen more Remains of their *Agger*. It is most evident such a Way as they made, could never have been defaced into those Windings and narrow Passages the Hills have at present between them: The Road therefore must have struck out about *Atherston*, and come up to the West-Side of the Entrenchment, for there we find the Entrance, and the other Road which goes off to *Etocetum*.

Either *Oldbury* must be the Spot for the Station, or there was none in the Parish of *Manceter*: For *Manceter* its self lies low, unfortified by any Eminence; and all the rest of the Hills have either an *Apex*, or too little Room for the Encampment of the smallest Body. Coins have been sometimes found here, and lately in the Hands of Mr. *Farmer*, who was carrying them to a Neighbouring Gentleman, in order to have them inserted here, but fell sick by the Way, and died.

died. There is a clear Stream running a little below, on the West Side.

The Nuns of *Poleſworth* had Lands here, as is ſuppoſed, before the Conqueſt: There were Charters giving and granting them Lands and Privileges afterwards: But that was as well the Form of confirming Deeds ſometimes, as of Original Donations. They had alſo a Cell here from *Poleſworth*, and a Chapel dedicated to St. *Lawrence*. Sir *John de Manceſtre*, Knight, in the Thirteenth of *Edward* I. covenanted to diſcharge theſe Nuns from *Scutage* in Reſpect to their Lands at *Manceſtre*, and *Oldbury*: And in King *Henry*'s Grant to the Duke of *Suffolk*, upon the Diſſolution, this goes by the Name of *Dominium & Manerium de Oldburie, & Capitali Meſſuagium de Oldburie*.

It is generally believed that the *Watling-Street* kept the Courſe I have followed it in from *Wroxeter* to *Wall*, *Litchfield*, and went on farther to *Highcroſs*, to *Weedon*, to *Stratford*: And there is indeed a Road that Way to this Day, called the *Street*. If we ſuppoſe, as I hinted in the Beginning, the *Watling* to be the *Winding-Street*, and the Uſe of it for the Proconſuls and Counts of *Britain*, to viſit their Garrifons, and march their Armies, it will be no Wonder that the *Saxons*, and ſucceeding Inhabitants, for Trade or other Buſineſs, ſhould ſtrike out a more direct Paſſage, from one Part of the Iſland to the other. *Street* was their general Name for a Road, and no more determines one to be *Roman*, than *Way* or *Road* would do. The Inhabitants call

it only *Street* : Strangers add *Watling* to it, as supposing there must be such a one somewhere, and led perhaps by the Name of a Place they pass through upon it, called *Watford Gap*. The Way through every Village is called *Street*, without relation to the *Romans*, any more than the new Streets of *London* can be supposed to have; We don't find the Name of *Port-way*, so promiscuously used.

Sir *William Dugdale* mentions Flint-Stones found near *Oldbury*, in Ploughing, Four Inches and Half in Length, curiously wrought by grinding; one End shaped much like the Edge of a Pole-Ax. They were put into a Hole bored on the Side of a Staff, and were *British* Weapons, before they arrived at working Iron or Brass. There is not a Flint to be found within Forty Miles of the Place, but what is carried thither. It's common for these Countrymen, when they come down to *Bedfordshire* or *Hertfordshire* to Harvest Work, to carry back Flints to light their Pipes with. This sort of Weapons has been found in several Parts of *England*.

There is one Thing observable in these *Midland Counties*, That there are fewer *Tumuli* or *Barrows* here, than in the West of *England*, *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Cambridgeshire*, *Hertfordshire*. In these last-mentioned, and the West, there are, I believe, forty, for one we find hereabout : This may give us some Light to guess at the Original of them. If we suppose them for *Celtic Worship*, we must conclude Religion very unequally dispersed amongst the Inhabitants of the Isle, I mean

mean the habitable Part of it ; for I would not make the Comparison between a Country overrun with Wood, or barren Moors, and one abounding in Fruits and Pasture. Where the *Tumuli* stand so very thick, there were more than could be of Use that Way, as if there were half a score Churches in a Parish. This were to give the *Discriminating Doctrine* too much Countenance, and bring it into the World before its Time.

That the *Tumuli* were made for the Dead most frequently, is not to be disputed, and perhaps always so ; for of those that have been dug down, the Bones of a Man have been often found at the Bottom of the *Tumulus*. It has been a received Opinion, that this was a *Roman* Way of Sepulchre, in Honour of some great Officer fallen in Battle. The Objection to it, that they burned their Bodies, is offered to be taken off, by saying, Burning came in but upon the Inconvenience of the other. That in some Countries their Dead had been taken up again, and exposed and mangled ; to avoid which, they afterwards reduced them to Ashes. The Number of *Urns* found all the Island over, and the Scarcity of *Barrows* in the Middle of it, is enough to shew the Burning general, at least at one Time, and the other Practice of it was *Roman*, but partially used. They had as many and as tough Actions about the *Avon* and the *Severn*, as any Part, except where they first had Footing. And these Monuments are the fewest here.

Sir *William Dugdale*, after Enquiry into the Custom of all Nations, in their Method of Sepulture,

pulture, is of Opinion, our *Barrows* are *Roman*. He quotes *Pliny* in the 54th Chap. of the seventh Book of his *Natural History*,———*Ipsum cremare apud Romanos non fuit veteris Instituti, Terrâ condebantur. At postquam longinquis bellis erui cognovere, tunc institutum. Et tamen multæ Familiæ priscos servavere ritus, sicut in Corneliâ nemo ante Syllam Dictatorem. Idque voluisse veritum talionem eruto C. Marii Cadavere.* He quotes *Florus* also, speaking of *Varus Quinctilius*———*Ipsius quoque Consulis Corpus quod Militum pietas abdiderat effossum.* He shews this to be a Practice both of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, to be found in *Homer* and *Virgil*. And that it was originally *Egyptian*, whose *Pyramids* were most ancient. And as the Eastern Nations had from *Egypt* their Philosophy, and their Ways of Sacrifice, it was no wonder they should from the same have their Burial Rites.

The Use I would make of this is, That the Fashion of Burial, tho' anciently amongst the *Romans*, was disused before their Settlement here. The Instances given by their own Authors of its Inconvenience, had brought in Burning so early, that we must not look for it in *Britain*.

It's true, Sir *William* has Proofs of *Urns*, with burnt Bones and Coals under these *Tumuli*, which are also called in his Country *Lowes*. On *Engleby-Heath* in *Derbyshire*, at *Lilburn* in *Northamptonshire*, as Mr. *Camden* observes, and in the *Isle of Man*, the Reliques of the Fire have been found underneath : But then he shews from *Olaus Wormius*, pag. 40. that this was also a Custom

from of much later Date than the *Romans* Practice. Amongst the *Cimbric* Antiquities, he introduceth three several Sorts of *Danish* Sepulture; the first, a Pile of Stones, six times as long as broad, upon which the Body was burnt; then more Stones, and at the Top a Covering of Turf, which should make the Ridge even and beautiful. This was, it seems, done in Honour of their Kings and great Men. Two of this Sort seem now to be at *Thetford* in *Norfolk*, standing as Wings to a vast *Tumulus* of the round Kind. And three more on the *Ikening* Way, but smaller, at the Foot of *Luton Downs* in *Bedfordshire*, near the Intersection of the *Ikening* and *Watling Streets*. Sometimes *Olaus* saith, they made these long *Barrows* in Form of their largest Ships. The Figure by Time and Weather, of this Sort, may be defaced.

The second Method of *Danish* Sepulture, was covering the Body entire, and, without burning, with a *Tumulus* of Stones, if they could be had, and green Turf at Top, or instead of Stones, Earth. The third Way is the modern Digging deep into the Earth, depositing the Dead, and covering them up.

The first of these called *Roiser*, and at *Roise* may probably have given Name to the Town of *Royston*, on the *Ikening* Way, in the Confines of *Cambridge* and *Hertfordshire*. For here are great Numbers of these *Tumuli*, not only upon the *Apex* of Hills, but upon the Sides, and very near the *Roman* Road. The two uniform *Barrows* mentioned by Dr. *Plot*, at *Bar-*
row-

row-Hill, in *Kings Swinford, Staffordshire*, I should take to be *Danish*, according to the Account of *Olaus*. It's hard to believe, as the Doctor does, that these being Earth at first, were petrified by subterraneous Heat. Why should not the rest of the Soil thereabouts be liable to the same Change? And what Proofs have we else of *Volcanos*, and extraordinary Fire in the Bowels of our Spot of Earth? That *Harold* upon his Inroads about *Wales*, made Hillocks of Stones, we have *Giraldus Cambrensis* for Witness, as mentioned in the first Part of *Roman Stations*. It is easier to conceive that a Heap of Stones, regularly placed, with Earth scattered about the Interstices, to make the Hillock smooth, and green Turfs on the Top, should turn to Rock, than to find a Fire to do it, and such as would but just bake it into Hardness, without dissolving it. We are sensible of the Increase of Stones in the Fields, from whence they are yearly gathered, to mend the Highways: And from the Mould of the Borders in Gardens, in *Devonshire*, which is in few Years assimilated and turned to a Bed of Stone. Or a Rock may, for Curiosity sake, be hewn into the Figure of these *Barrows*, with less Pains, than the Trenches of the Camp by *Bromton-Bryan*, or the Cellars of *Nottingham*.

It is not improbable but the *Saxons* might be Authors of some of these *Tumuli*, since they and the *Normans* (or Northern Men) came all from the hungry Quarter of *Europe*, when this was the Fashion. The Accounts we have of the
Saxon

Saxon Wars here, are so confused and imperfectly given, that we know less of them than of our more ancient Masters. If we look at those Countries, where History informs us the *Danes* chiefly made their Ravages, we shall find most of these Monuments of their Victory. Before their Settlement here, they kept near the Shore, or some Navigable River, to carry their Plunder aboard. *Cambridgeshire*, and the rest of the *Iceni*, were frequently infested with them: The Western Coast, and a Day's Journey or two into the Country, had much of their Company. Near *Ware* and *Thundridge*, in *Hertfordshire*, where they came Year after Year, with their Vessels up the *Lea*, we find these Remains of them. Above *Thundridge* Church, upon the little River *Rib*, at *Haven-End*, are two, and two more at *Widford*. This was a proper Hold for them, where their Vessels rid safe, and they had the *Ermine-Street* to march in, and gather up their Plunder.

I go from *Pennocrucium* to *Bar-Beacon* in *Staffordshire*, for *Etocetum*, according to the *Itinerary*, and the vulgar Computation, Twelve Miles. This stands upon a high Hill, Four Miles from *Birmincham*, in the Road to *Four Crosses*. Here are Lines drawn round the Hill, on one Side, inclosing a large Camp up to the Military Way, in Form of a Half-Moon; and several other Sub-Divisions have been made, so that it has serv'd for a greater Number, and a less. Below it stands *Aldridge*, in which Parish it lies, and in Mr. *Hoo's* Manor: The Name of the

the Vill is probably from the *Roman Agger*, or *Old-Ridge* : Here is a most extensive Prospect, as perhaps the Island affords. Towards the *Wreeken* and *Wales* ; towards the *Malvern* and *Breedon*, in *Worcestershire* ; towards *Cank Wood*, from whence is seen the beautiful Cluster of Trees at the Top, visible from every Side of that Forest, called the *Furnace-Coppice* : There was a Furnace for working Iron, till the Wood was exhausted. We look down also from *Bar-beacon*, over the Country, by *Litchfield*, towards *Needwood* Forest, and *Leicestershire*, and towards *Pennocrucium*, and the Forest of *Charnley*.

The People here have a Tradition that these Works upon the Hill were Fences, upon a Division of the Common, which they have heard was ploughed up, but have no Notion of a Camp. From *Pennocrucium* hither is a direct Road struck through *Sutton-Park*, which Sir *William Dugdale*, Dr. *Plot*, and others after them, have called *Ikenild-Street*. This proceeds upon an Opinion that the *Iceni* inhabited this Country : But of Them, and their Way, I have said enough in the first Part. Making it the *Watling-Street* will solve the Difficulty they were under, finding hereabouts a *Roman Way* which no use was made of. Sir *William* would carry it from the Confines of this County by *Aulcester* and *Birmincham*, then through *Sutton-Park* to *Wall*, near *Litchfield* : But that can by no means be, for it goes not with any Direction to *Sutton-Park* from *Birmincham*, but to our *Bar-beacon* : And whoever follows it from *Birmincham*, and sees it so broad

broad and fair all the Way to the further Side of the Camp, would be surprized to lose it all on a sudden ; for at the Bottom of the Hill there's no more Trace of it. Its Extremity here points towards *Stafford*, and pretty near *Four Crosses*, not towards *Litchfield*: But if we ascend the Hill again to the South-East Side of the Camp, we find it goes off there through *Sutton-Park*, pointing to *Oldbury*, from whence we last came ; and that it hath an Entrance to that Fortification on the West, where is also the Way leading to *Wall*. Mr. *Baxter* will not here help us in Etymology, because he charges the *Itinerary* with mistaking it for *Lectocetum*.

Whether this Camp, being a very large one, might not be *British*, and afterwards a Part only of it employed by the *Romans*, I will not venture to guess ; nor whether it was originally *Roman*, and alter'd by the *Danes*. We find, on *Borough-Hill* in *Northamptonshire*, an Entrenchment of Three Miles round, and at the strongest Part a smaller *Roman* Camp entire. Dr. *Plot*, in his Natural History of *Staffordshire*, quotes *Stewechius*, for saying, The *Romans* made their Camps larger than they needed, that their Armies might appear greater : This Piece of Art seems below them, and perhaps may be attributed to them upon a Mistake of some that had observ'd them in an old Camp, which they did not fill ; or, that one of theirs was enlarged by those that came after. Stratagem they used, but hardly such as this: They might have a greater Number of Horse than usually incamp'd with the Foot, and

if the Men only were reckon'd, the Camp might seem too large.

Hence the Military Way carries us to *Manduesedum*, *Aulcester* in *Warwickshire*, by the *Itinerary*, and vulgar Computation both, Sixteen Miles: I own, they are long, but if one asks at *Birmincham*, How far to *Aulcester*? they say Twelve, and to *Bar-beacon* Four. I need not take Pains to prove this a Military Way, since 'tis confessedly one, by being called the *Ickening*. It leads through *Birmincham*, and about *King's-Norton* retains the Name of *Port-way* for Three Miles together, with a Hedge on both Sides, the Road being about Forty-five Yards across, as is usual. It winds a little to the Left, to avoid a difficult Hill, and descends at an easier Fall at *Brogborough*, by *Studley Park*, through *Studley*, by *Coton*, and *Beauchamp's Court* to *Aulcester*. At the Top of *Brogborough Hill* is a corresponding Way struck through *Henley* to *Warwick*, which I shall mention in its Place.

The *Saxon* Name, by which this Town goes at present, is certainly derived from the River *Alne*, which here hath its Confluence with *Arrow*. The *British* Etymologies have made *Manduesse-dum* either *Patriæ Sedes*, or *Domus Lapidæ*. *Maen* signifies, in their Language, *Stone*: Either suits *Aulcester* well enough. The latter to me is eligible; for, in the next Parish of *Arrow*, which takes its Name from that Stream, as *Alcester* from *Alne*, is the Manor of *Oversley* (now called *Ousley*) from whose Hills have been dug great Quantities of Stone. The City, for so I call it,
of

of *Alcester* was built out of it, the *Monastery*, and *Ousley-Bridge*. For half a Mile together, the Top of the Hill is nothing but Holes, and Heaps of broken useleſs Stone: And the City probably was walled with it too, for there is a Trace of a Wall half a Mile in Length from *Blacklands* into *Alcester* Field, upon which the Corn is ſo languid, the Ridge is eaſily diſcernible. On the two higheſt Points of theſe Hills are two Farm Houſes, which retain the Name of *Upper-Ousley-Lodge*, and *Lower-Ousley-Lodge*. Near the latter have been Works of Earth, ſome lately dug down to mend the Roads, and fill up uneven Ground; and ſome yet remaining: Here, I ſuppoſe, was the *Roman* Fortification, for the City ſtood low and deſenſeleſs. This Spot has been over-built again, and ſo the *Roman* Model loſt; for *Ralph le Boteler* to the Earl of *Mellent*, which Earl was alſo advanced by *Henry* the Firſt to the Earldom of *Leiceſter*, having, by the Grant of his Lord, Lands here, and in *Leiceſterſhire*, made this the chief Place of his Reſidence, and built here a Caſtle. He was ſtiled *Radulphus Pincerna de Legreſtria*: He founded the Monastery on the North Side of *Alceſter*, for *Benedictine* Monks, and, amongſt other Endowments, granted them the Chapel of this Caſtle. His Seat was *Ousley-Court*, where a large Quantity of *Roman* Coins were lately found by the preſent Farmer: All this of *Oversly*, is at preſent poſſeſſed by Sir *Robert Throckmorton*, and parted from *Alceſter* by the Bridge.

There

There is scarce a Place in *England* hath a greater Number of Coins, Urns, and such Remains, than *Alcester*. The Lord *Brook*, who is Lord of the Manor here, had an Urn, with more than Six Hundred Coins in it, of which Eight were Gold, and the rest Silver. Those I have seen here, were of very fine Silver, whereas we meet, in most Places, with very coarse. A very fair one—*Sar Vespasianus Au. R.* a Figure sitting, with some Plant growing behind him, underneath *Judæa*: This of the Breadth of a mill'd Groat. A Cellar can't be dug here without finding some; hid, I suppose, by the *Britons* when they were chased away, or their Houses burnt by the *Saxons* or *Danes*, or perhaps the *Picts*. A Workman digging lately for a Cellar, will not be persuaded but he came to a Quick-Hedge, from whence the Neighbourhood have thought of an Earthquake to solve the Matter. It is no wonder that in this low, and perhaps spongy Ground, the Foundation of their Buildings should be Fagot-Wood, bound or wattled together.

The next Station in Order is *Bennones*, according to the *Itinerary* Twelve Miles: This I take to be *Warwick*, Mr. *Camden's Præsidium*, the Post of the *Præfect* of the *Dalmatian* Horse. Mr. *Baxter* mentions *Manduessedum*, meaning *Manceter*, *Quod hodiè in finibus est Pagi Præsidarii sive Warwiccani*. The same Author upon *Bennones* gives us a Lift he never designed, that it signifies *Caput Insulæ*. Whoever views the noble Situation of it for Beauty, Health, Defence, and Plenty, must think it impossible for the Ro-

mans

mans to neglect it. Here, I believe, was their Metropolis, their Place of Arms, the Residence of the Counts of *Britain*.

The Choice had been made to their Hands, if we credit Sir *William Dugdale*, who was a good Judge of the Collections of his Countryman *Rous*: He observes, that upon the first Division of the Realm into Shires, this gave the Name. That *Rous* having seen the Manuscripts of Monasteries, now destroyed, had found it delivered down, that the *British* Kings built here a Town; that it was destroyed by the *Picts*, and *Scots*, and lay in Ruins till *Caractacus*, whom we read of in *Roman* History, restored it. That, according to *Tacitus*, Fortifications were made By *Ostorius*, about the Rivers *Avon* and *Severn*—*Cinctosque Castris Antonam & Sabrinam fluvios cohibere parat*. That it was again destroyed and repaired by *Constantine*, Father of *Uter Pendragon*. He carries on his History through another Destruction, and finds it rebuilt by *Warremund*, from whom the Kings of *Mercia* descended.

This *Warremund* is supposed, by our Antiquary *Rous*, to have given it its present Name; But I should rather take it from *Præsidium*, or a Place of Arms. *Wic* is *Saxon*, from *Vicus*, and if *War* may be allowed *Saxon* too, there's no Difficulty: If *War* be deriv'd from *Guerre*, I believe it was got into *Germany* before the Time of the *Norman* Conquest. *Warpenny*, from which the ancient Charters excused the Monasteries, is a Word of an old Date.

Its Situation in the Middle of so many Camps and Cities, and the Number of grand and corresponding Military Ways, struck out from it on every Side, as so many *Radii*, will lead any Man into an Opinion it was a Station, if the *Itinerary* will admit its being so, which is the Thing to be proved.

There are Branches of Roads from it to every Quarter; one to *Ratis*; one to *Bennevenna* and *Tripontium*; one to *Manduessedum*, and *Etoce-tum*, and one to *Pennocrucium*. This last goes off by *Coventry* and *Nun-Eaton*, to *Hart Hill*, leaving on the Right the Ridge (which affords so extensive a Prospect into the Forest of *Charn-ley*, *Derby*, and *Warwickshire*, to *Oldbury*: Then it leads over *Tame* and *Trent*, about *Alderways* (thence I presume named) to a strong Camp upon *Needwood* Forest, within two or three Miles of *Mr. Offley's*, and so to *Derbentio*.

The Cut I am first concerned with, is to *Man-duessedum*, *Alcester*; and this lies by the Way of *Henly*, and so answers to twelve Miles. I am not here begging a Figure off, because the nearest Way makes but ten. If I can shew it a *Roman* Practice, and a Convenience to do so, I may stand to the Courtesy of those that consider it.

The *Romans*, as they made their Roads good, so they made no more of them than Necessity required. About their *Præsidium* we find them pointing to every Quarter. And tho' perhaps, they were not all paved and raised alike, yet were all of them fit for a March, at least for conveying Orders, and receiving Intelligence. When
they

they could, by a small Circuit, let these fall into one another, they husbanded their Materials and their Work. Thus we see, in the former Part of *Roman Stations*, the *Ikening* and the *Ermine-street* keeping a Line from *Haverill*, for two Miles, and so making a *Saltire*. We see from *Londinium* to *Cesaromagum* are 28 Miles; yet taking in *Durolitum* makes them 15 and 16 : Because from the *Agger* upon *North-hall Common*, we strike out a Mile and a half, and return by the same; when *Durolitum* is as near a Passage from one to the other, if they would have have been at the Expence of a new Road to save that Mile and half. More of these Instances I shall shew in their Place, and submit to the Reader's Candour for my Justification. So far is it from breaking in upon the *Itinerary*, that it is a Support to it, to make the different Figures correspond. There's no Question to be made, but the *Proconsul*, and the *Comes Britanniae* visited their Garrisons by more Roads than one. The Account we have left us, that of *Antonine*, proves it. For here are two several Ways from *Lactorodum* to *Bennones*, one by *Bennavenna*, the other by *Isanavatia*, which ought not to go for the same Station: And which of these shall we call *Watling-Street*?

From *Warwick* to *Henly* we have the Way plain and traceable yet. To the left it goes to *Alcester*; strait forwards to *Birmincham* and *Etocetum*. Above *Brogborough-Hill* and *Studley*, the Street from *Alcester* to *Birmincham* falls into it again, and together make the Port-way we came upon from *Etocetum* to *Alcester*. Of this, *Hen-*

ly retains something in its Name, if we follow the old way of writing, and the Country way of pronouncing it *Heanly*. *Hean* in *Saxon* signifies *High*. Thus *Ansly*, in this County, is named from its Highway (anciently *Heanstige*) from *Coventry* to *Leicester*, which here crosses another from *Rugby* to *Tamworth* and *Burton upon Trent*. The same *Heanstige* (*Ansly*) in *Hertfordshire*, stands upon the *Ermine-street*, from which it is denominated.

From *Bennones* I go to *Bennavenna*, seventeen Miles. This I take to be *Borough-Hill* beyond *Dantery*. Mr. *Camden* acknowledges *Roman* Works here. Mr. *Baxter* has, by great Labour, softened *Bennavenna* and *Isanavatia* (which he makes the same) into *Dannavantria*, and would have the Station where I place it. He quotes *Camden*, who, in his first Edition, wrote it *Pennavenna*. And if that great Author had fixed it at *Borough-hill*, he would not have been long finding the Origine of its Name. The River *Nen*, called in *Latin*, *Aufona*, rising not far from *Borough-hill*, it is easie to believe the Name meant the *Hill-top* above the Source of the *Aufona*.

I need not here enter into the Dispute whether this be the *Antona* of *Tacitus*. It's plain enough the *Warwickshire Avon* was. And yet the *Latin* Names, tho' originally *Aufona*, might be subject to a Change, when the *Romans* found the Mistake they were led into by the *Britons*. One then might be *Aufona*, the other *Antona*, by way of Distinction.

They

They ask a *Briton* looking at the Stream, What his Language calls it? He tells them *Avon*; the common Name of a River instead of the specific Name: So that all the Rivers of *Britain* might at that Rate have been *Avon*. The Change of this to *Nen*, was certainly to avoid the Confusion the *Latin* would have made.

The exterior Line of the Camp on *Borough-hill*, is about three Miles round; and within it a two Mile Course, where a Horse-match was run. The *Roman* Camp is but a small Part of the *Hill*, about a Mile North of *Dantry*. And this Mr. *Morton* allows to be *Roman*. Who were the Makers of the Out-lines, whether *Britons*, *Saxons* or *Danes*, I leave to others: Only I can't come into *Stevechi*'s Scheme, to account for them by *Roman* Stratagem.

The Way from *Bennones* hither, I make thro' the Parish of *Chesterton*, leaving *Southom* and the *Shugboroughs* on the Left, which going on a Mile North of *Dantry*, will make the Seventeen Miles. I carry it that Way, because so far it keeps Company with the other, leading by *Tripontium* to *Isanavatia*, which I shall shew in its Place; and because there is a fortified Place in this Parish, which I suppose to have been a Manse for Travellers, both from *Bennavenna* and *Tripontium* to *Bennones*, and for those that passed by the *Fosse* from *Ratae* to (*Corinium*) *Cirencester*. Here also, I presume, were Posts, or Couriers, and fresh Horses laid for every Occasion upon the several Roads. This was an early Point of their Policy. *Augustus* doubled the Posts through the whole Empire, which were continued, or

improved in succeeding Ages: That they had from every Quarter of their *Ὀρχήστρην*, Orders and Intelligence in perpetual Motion.

Mr. *Camden* mentioning the Barons *Latimer*, at *Wardon* hereabouts, brings me into a Thing, the Subject of which, as well as the Thought, will, perhaps, be reckoned out of the Way; unless it will pass as a *Welsh-man's Whet*, when he is half up a Hill, and turns to look about him. He first speaks of them at *Whittington-Castle* in *Shropshire*. "Below this Castle, *Wrenoc*, the "Son of *Meuric*, held certain Lands, by the "Service of being *Latimer* between the *English* "and the *Welsh*, that is, an *Interpreter*. This I "have remarked from an old *Inquisition*, for "the better understanding of the Word *Latimer*, "which few are acquainted with, tho' it is a "Name very famous in this Kingdom."

The Name seems to me (since Mr *Camden* takes it from the Office) to be no more than *Latiner*; as the *Latin* was the intermediate Language, into which both the other were construed. This will not be surprizing if we consider how at this Day the Writs, directed in the Bishop of *Ely's* Name, must be, *Reverendus in Christo Pater*. So exact are we in following an Hereditary Mistake, that the Lawyers will not yet admit *Christo* for the true Reading.

Our next Stage is *Lactodunum*, from *Bennavenna* twelve Miles. The Name is allowed to be derived from a Passage over the Water. And somewhere hereabouts the *Owze* must be passed. But a Camp there could neither be at *Stony-Stratford*, on the *Buckinghamshire* Side, nor at
Old

Old Stratford, on the *Northamptonshire* Side of the Stream, from the Unfitness of the Ground, as I have already observed : Yet a Place for Encampment must be found in the Neighbourhood. And this only can be at *Calverton*, half a Mile South of *Stony Stratford*, on the *Buckinghamshire* Side. There is a rising Ground between *Calverton* Church and the *Owze*, extending itself to the present Road, that leads from *Stony Stratford* to *Buckingham*. This Road having crossed a Brook, goes up the Hill about the Place where I suppose the Fortification of the Camp to have been. The Ground is dry and pleasant, to the South and South-East Sun, according to their usual Choice. The only remarkable Remainder of what it was, is to be seen on the South Side ; I mean the old Military Way leading from *Calverton* up the Hill, and pointing to the River against *Pasbam* or *Passenham*, which Mr. *Camden* believes was named from the Passage of the *Owze*. Close to this Way is a Spot of Ground, not like the Fortification of a Camp, but rather of a great House : So that whatever it was in the *Roman* Times, some Body has since built upon it. There is a Brook which seems to have been the Defence on the East, as the present *Buckingham* Road on *Cross-hill*, might be on the North. The Plough may have erased all the rest. *Old Stratford* may have been continued to this Passage anciently ; and by Degrees got nearer to the present Scite for the sake of the Bridge. It's probable, however, that the Name, and the Use of *Stratford*, arose upon the new erecting the *Dunstable* Highway. If we look a little farther upon this new Way,

we

we find *Fenny Stratford*, a new Collection of Houses for a Road Trade, which has not been ancient : For the greatest Part of it is in *Blechley* Parish, the rest in *Sympson*, each Parish Church above a Mile from the Place. There was once a Chapel here, for the Use of the Inhabitants, under *Blechley*, which ran to decay ; and lately a new and very handsome Structure, by some Contribution of the People, and the Munificence of *Brown Willis*, Esq; Lord of the Manor, and Patron of the Living.

The Military Way then must go from *Bennavenna* through *Towceter*, at the Ford between *Pasham* and *Calverton*. From which Ford also runs the other Military Way to *Isanavatia*, which for the present we leave ; and go through the Vill of *Calverton*, and the East Part of *Stony-Stratford* to *Newport-pagnel* ; thence by *Bedford* and *Gerford* to *Sandy* in *Bedfordshire*, *Magiovinium*. From *Sandy*, cross the Ford again, through *Hill-Lane*, and *Southill Fields*, to *Shefford*. Here is another Ford from whence the Road, leaving *Chicksands Abbey* on the Right, goes strait thro' *Kaynoe Lane* to *Silsoe*, thence to *Barton*, and up the Hill to *Ravensborough* in *Hertfordshire*, *Durocobrivæ* ; thence over *Luton Downs*, where it crosses the *Ikening-street*, through *Luton* and *Harden* to *Verulam* ; thence to *Sulloniaca*, *Brockley-Hills*, and to *Londinium*, on the *Surrey* Side the *Thames* : Of these last I say no more, because I have done it fully in the former Part.

One Thing, not mention'd in the former, is worth observing, the Fortification of the Castle of *Kaynoe*, upon the Military Way between *Magiovinium*

giovinium and *Durocobrivæ* : It is on the Lands of the Duke of *Kent*, in the Parish of *Clophill* in *Bedfordshire*, and hath had a great Command. *Ampthill*, according to Dr. *Holland*, was a Branch of it ; and *Ampthill* Mr. *Camden* makes a Gift of *Edward* the Fourth, to *Edmond Grey* Lord of *Ruthyn*, being forfeited by Sir *John Cornwall*, Baron of *Fanhope*, who had erected a noble House there out of his *French* Spoils, and lost it for taking part with the House of *Lancaster*.

We read of Forts built by *Ostorius* and *Agricola*, which I believe were either in their Towns or on their Camps, or on the Sea-Coast. If there were any built to secure a Pass, or Highway, I should take this of *Kaynoe* to be one, because it lies upon the Military Way, where there are no Vestigia of a Town, and because the Fort here is exactly after the Model of that at *Brinklow* in *Warwickshire*, which was a Station. That stands upon the highest Ground of a Camp, with the *Keep* or *Citadel*, upon an Eminence steep by Nature, so as not to be assaulted from that Side : This of *Kaynoe* has the *Keep* standing just above Moory Rotten Ground, secure against an Attack also from that Side. There are, at both these Places, without the great Ditch of the *Keep*, three other Retrenchments towards the South, with a deep Ditch without every one of these Retrenchments, in a Semicircular Form, the Innermost raised higher than the Second, and the Second than the Third: These Three at *Kaynoe* seem to take up, *Fosse* and all, about eight Acres ; those at *Brinklow* six : All these four Ditches at *Brinklow* end
in

in one, which is drawn round the *Keep*: At *Kaynoe* all the Four meet in a Point, at each Side the *Keep*, and there end in the *Moor*, which on the North-side, is of itself a Defence. When this was built, I have no Opportunity of knowing: That of *Brinklow* must, if not in the *Roman* Times, be at least elder than the Conquest, because *Sir William Dugdale* has traced as high as that, and found no mention of its Original in Records, or other Authorities: Its standing too upon the *Fosse* gives Countenance to the Opinion that it's *Roman*, as well as the Situation of the lower Part of the Camp, which was not secure enough without it.

Iter Sextum.

A Londinio Lindum.

<i>Verulamio</i>	_____	M. P.	21
<i>Durocobrio</i>	_____		12
<i>Magiovinio</i>	_____		12
<i>Lactorodo</i>	_____		16
<i>Isanavatia</i>	_____		12
<i>Tripontio</i>	_____		12
<i>Benonis</i>	_____		09
<i>Ratis</i>	_____		12
<i>Verometo</i>	_____		13
<i>Margidunum</i>	_____		13
<i>Ad Pontem</i>	_____		07
<i>Crococolana</i>	_____		07
<i>Lindo</i>	_____		12

From *Londinium* I come to *Lactorodum*, *Cal-
verton* in *Buckinghamshire*, by the Way that I
went. Passing the River *Owze*, against *Passham*,
I go

I go through *Buckingham* to *Alchester* in *Oxfordshire*, twelve Miles: This must be derived from *Old Chester*. Adjoining to it is *Chesterton*, to which perhaps there was antiently a Continuation of the Buildings: As to Etymology, I must leave it. No Foreign Helps are to be had, every Body's Pains having been bestow'd to make it the same with *Bennavenna*, and that by forced and unnatural Conjectures. More might have been expected to support the Reputation of the *Itinerary*, which is every Man's Rule, and yet every Man takes the Liberty to correct it: From *Lactorodum* to *Bennones*, this Road makes Thirty-three Miles; the other by *Bennavenna*, but Twenty-nine, and yet the intermediate Station must be the same!

Mr. *Camden* has taught us to look for a Station here, which might long since have been found, if we had not been puzzled with precarious Names for the *Roman* Ways, not given by the *Saxons*, but invented by later Projectors, to which every thing must be adjusted. From hence runs a corresponding Road to *Cirencester*, and perhaps to other Places. If these had never been named at all, but from the Towns to which they lead, as is the *English* Fashion, we had been free from Prejudice, and had a better Chance for Truth. Those that are direct, as the *Fosse*, *Ermine*, and *Ikening*, rather help than hinder our Discoveries, and those which go by the common Name of *Portway* give some useful Light: But when we come to give Specific Appellations to Cross and Vicinal Branches, we drop our Enquiries because we can't make the Stations corre-

spond with these ; when perhaps these Names at last relate to nothing but the Straight, the Broad, or the Stony Road.

A Square Entrenchment is yet visible in *Wendlebury* Field, which was the Scite of the Town. Remains of Building are found hereabouts : Stones are turned out frequently when the Plough strikes upon them ; yet this is a low defenseless Place, and nothing can be said for the Choice of it but this, That it was pitched upon as lying well for a Communication with their Garrisons, and was erected into a Station when the Island was altogether in the *Roman* Power, and there was no Fear of a Surprize from the Natives ; and possibly the Works about it were contrived to keep out a Force by substantial *Vallum* and *Fosse*, as the Tradition of the Inhabitants hints, who say, at every Corner of the Place was a Tower of great Strength : Some small Works have been within the Lines, called still *Castle-Hills*. Coins are found here frequently enough to shew the *Britons* had a Town here after the *Romans* went off.

From hence a Road leads through *Banbury* to *Tripontium*, Twelve Miles, as I conceive *Edge-Hill*. We must not pass *Banbury* without observing, that it has been reputed *Roman*, and by some *Branavis*. I see nothing but what bears Date since the *Norman* Conquest, except the Military Way, which does no hurt to our Scheme, but carries us to *Edge-Hill*. Coins have indeed been found here, which confirm the Neighbourhood of the *Romans* ; but, I think, no more.

This

This Name of *Tripontium* has been differently written: Mr. *Camden* would have it from three Bridges at *Towcester*, none of which Streams deserved any Bridge: nor do I find the *Romans* dealt in them, but ferried where they could not ford: Some are for writing it *Tripotium*, some *Triputum*: The last is countenanc'd by the Inscription Dr. *Gale* has quoted out of *Gruter*, where the Word is *Triputien*. Since we have nothing certain, I will venture to guess that the Difference has happened from writing out of a *Greek* Copy: Such there were for the Use of the Eastern Part of the Empire; out of one of which the Monk of *Ravenna* is thought to have taken what he hath left us of the Island of *Britain*: His Names of Places, and particularly their Terminations, are *Greek*; as *Juliocenon*, *Stodoion*, *Alitacenon*, *Cataractonion*, *Stene*, and many others.

Supposing this to have been *Τριπόβλιον* or *Τριπόβλιον*, the *υ* being mistaken for *ν*, makes *Tripontium*, or the *ο* being dropt, brings it to *Triputum*, which will, by degrees, lead us to *Τριπτος*. If we look then at the slight Occasions upon which the *Romans* sometimes named a Station, as *Ad Ansam*, we may farther guess, that the Thought of a *Tripus* gave rise to this: This Camp, of about Sixty Acres on the Point of the Hill, overlooking the Vale of the *Red-Horse*, of a square Form, but much rounded at the Corners, makes a Sort of Triangle with *Bennones* and *Bennavenna*, which puts one in Mind of a *Tripus*: Farther, if this will be allow'd, it is more eminently a *Tripus* still, because it makes, if we please, two Triangles

gles more ; one with *Bennavenna*, and *Laſtorodum*, and one with *Laſtorodum*, and *Iſanavatia*.

From hence we go down the Hill through *Kineton* to *Bennones*, *Warwick*, Nine Miles : Into this direct Road about *Cheſterton*, having croſſed the *Foſſe*, that from *Bennavenna* falls, and they make but one to *Warwick*.

In the Field we paſs through from *Edge-Hill* to *Kineton* ; half a Mile to the Left, are the Graves of thoſe ſlain in the Fight between the King and the Parliament ; for upon that Green Spot the Heat of the Action was : The ancient Account of Five or Six Thouſand having fallen in that Battle, is thus long after contradicted, and brought to about Twelve or Thirteen Hundred : It is ſtill the Tradition of *Kineton*, propagated probably by the Industry of Mr. *Fiſher*, who was appointed by the Earl of *Effex* to take an Account of the Slain, that no more than Thirteen Hundred were buried : If one urge, that 'tis impoſſible either Army ſhould be capable of ſuch a groſs Miſtake, he is answered, That they look'd only at their Muſter Rolls, and ſo many Thouſands might be miſſing who ran away, and were therefore reputed dead ; whereas *Baker's Chronicle* makes near Six Thouſand ; and my Lord *Clarendon* as many ; at the ſame Time telling us, That the Dead were numbred by the Miniſters, and others employ'd in their Burial.

Neither was the Earl Maſter of the Field : He might poſſibly get ſuch a pretended Liſt from Mr. *Fiſher*, to keep up the Heart of the *London* 'Prentices, who might be frighted from recruiting

ing the Army, if they knew what warm Work there had been : A Purpose might then be served by it, but I can't see the Interest of doing it now.

From *Bennones* our Order carries us to *Ratis*, twelve Miles; this I make *Brinklow* upon the *Fosse* : I may at first seem liable to an Objection, that *Brinklow* wants three Miles of the Number; and so it does : But if we take with us the *Roman* Practice of a little *ἐκτροπή*, rather than strike out a Road on purpose, we shall make no Difficulty of keeping the Way from *Warwick* to *Edgehill* for three Miles, and going the other Nine upon the *Fosse*.

This Station is known by the Name of *Ratæ*; in *Ptolomy* *Ράγαι*, which perhaps signifies its Strength : In *Anonymus Ravennas* 'tis *Rate Corion*, in the *Vatican*, *Ratæ Coratinorum*; it should be rather *Ratæ Coriniorum*, and then would be expressed its Situation upon the *Fosse*, leading to *Corinium*, *Cirencester* : We find the *Ikening* leading as far, without a Station, that we know of. This *Brinklow* has a Camp of about Twenty-five Acres, in an oblong Form; the Northern Part of it is high, just above a great Declivity : There has been a Fort upon that Point, of antienter Date than the *Norman* Conquest, as Sir *William Dugdale* testifies, having looked for it in all Records, and other Evidences since that Time, and found it must be higher : The *Keep* of the Fort stands upon the Brink, which is supposed to have given the present Name, *Low* being an old Word for *Hill*. This once was the Hundred-Town, tho' now in *Knightlow*. *Brinklow*, as
a Hun.

a Hundred, paid in the Twenty-first of *Henry II.* for a Murther; again, in the 24th, and again in the Fifth of King *John.* In *Edward* the III'd's Time, a Court was held here, belonging to the King's Jurisdiction, and called *Leta de Brinklow*, and Five and Forty Towns and Villages are recited in the History of *Warwickshire* under it. The Camp is extended by the Side of the *Fosse*: Its upper Point, as that of *Kaynoe*, has three Retrenchments without the Ditch of the *Keep*, all drawn into one at the Sides, and determining in the Ditch of the *Keep*, or *Citadel.* The Ground that these Retrenchments take up, Ditches and all, may be Six Acres, in a Semicircular Form towards the South: Hence a corresponding Way leads to *Pennocrucium*, through *Ansly* (*Heanstige*) falling into the other, from *Bennones* to the same, about *Nun-Eaton*, and they go up *Hart-Hill* together, leaving the Ridge on the Right: Another goes from *Ratae*, through *Rugby*, to *Ben-novenna.*

From *Ratae* we go Twelve Miles to *Verometum*, or rather *Vernometum*, *Leicester*, Four to *High-Cross*, and Eight beyond. *High-Cross* therefore, if it had more to shew than the *Fosse*, must fall out with the *Itinerary*, to be a Station: There has been a *Vernometum* produced in *Gartre-Hundred*, at *Borough*, but that must be off the Military Way, and, tho' probably a *Roman* Camp, has no Right to come in for a Station; for we find none, but upon the *Fosse* hereabouts: Nor would it ever have been taken for one, but that there was a supernumerary Station upon our Hands, which

which restored to *Warwick*, as its Due, sets every Thing upon a right Bottom.

How much better the Etymology and Description of *Vernometum* agrees with *Leicester* than *Borough*, I may leave to the Reader, especially if the great Mr. *Camden* be regarded. “ One may
“ conjecture (saith he on *Borough-Hill*) from
“ the Name, that some great Temple of the Hea-
“ then Gods hath formerly stood in this Place :
“ For in the ancient Language of the *Gauls*,
“ which was the same with that of the *Britons*,
“ *Vernometum* signifies a great and spacious Tem-
“ ple, as *Venantius Fortunatus* plainly tells us of
“ *Vernometum*, a Town in *France*, in these Verses
“ of his First Book of Poems.”

*Nomine Vernometum voluit vocitare vetustas
Quod quasi Fanum ingens Gallica lingua sonat.*

As to Remains of a *British* Temple at *Leicester*, we may content ourselves without seeing, when even the Religious Houses, so Majestick, and expressive of the Piety of a later Age, are no more to be seen, but——*Ipsæ periere Ruinæ.*

Yet some Traces of this *British* Temple may be found in the Place, called *Holy-Bones*, where the Bones of Oxen sacrificed have been frequently upon digging turned up. These must have been brought hither for Sacrifice, and nothing else. Where we find the Name of a Temple, and the Reliques of their Worship, so apparently together, we have all the Evidence the Nature of the Thing admits.

Front

From hence I would keep the Track of the *Fosse* to *Margidunum*, *Willoughby*, upon the Confines of *Leicester* and *Nottinghamshires*, and keep Company with those that make *Bridgeford*, *Ad Pontem*, and *Brough Crococolana*, which carries us to *Lincoln*, *Lindum Colonia*.

The *Fosse* has ever passed for a direct Cut, so direct that it was not broke in upon even to lead to the *Præsidium*. By its Direction alone so many Stations have been raised out of the Dust, that it will not be reckon'd a Crime to strike off the only Deformity it was chargeable with (*Vernometum* off the Way, and out of the Line) and to reduce it to its Original Beauty.

The Attempt to make *Warwick* the Centre of the *Roman* Power; the Head indeed of the Island, from whence Sense and Motion were diffused through every Part, is so agreeable to the *Roman* Genius, so well supported by History, and confirmed by Remains, that I am in hopes of seeing it better illustrated by some Hand equal to the Work; and if mine will serve but as a Scaffold for a better contrived and more uniform Building, I have no Inclination to darken Truth, but will be the first to pull it down.

May it only be consider'd, There is yet no Scheme worthy a *Roman* Architect, no *British* Capital in the Heart of their Garrisons, no *Præsidium*, and Place of Arms.

F I N



MUSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

ERRATA

Page 8. l. 12. *Manduesedum*. p. 9. l. 7. *born*. p. 10. l. 22. *quid*. p. 19.
l. 14. *Tract*. p. 35. l. 16. *Capitale*. p. 37. l. 10. *Supra*. Ibid. l. 27.
if for of. p. 44. l. 26. *Lapidea*.